HUMAN EVENTS

Volume XIV, No. 33 Saturday, August 17, 1957 Washington, D. C.

News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

BUSINESS PROSPECTS: *Low barometer* (page 1)
WHAT HAPPENED ON FOREIGN AID:
Ike's defeat (page 1)
CIVIL RIGHTS CASUALTY:
Democratic party (page 2)
FAT CATS IN SPATS: *More on Gluck* (page 2)
McCARTHY: *A tribute* (page 4)

Hair Curling In the Capital: The big question very privately argued in Washington today is not whether the business situation is in hot water, but "how hot is the water?"

And the most important, unpublicized consideration (a five syllable word which actually means agonizing brain work in the torrid Washington climate) is the possibility of an early economic recession.

The sober guess — we must report — is that the chances are fifty-fifty that such a recession will occur. That is what some of the shrewdist analysts of the intricate play of economic forces say about business prospects.

One concrete expression of this viewpoint appears in the fact — not too well known outside investment circles — that the great majority of investment counsellors and trust companies have put their portfolios on a fifty-fifty basis: that is, half the securities are in stocks, the other half in bonds and cash. (Six months ago it was about two-thirds stocks, one-third bonds.) That trend has been under way for some months and now has become widely prevalent.

But what has galvanized the development in recent weeks is a combination of plain economic facts, of a sharply deflationary nature, which taken together serve a solemn warning. They are:

(1) Last week's increase in the Federal Reserve Bank re-discount rate from 3 to 3½ per cent.

(2) Cutbacks in Defense procurement contracts.

(3) Growing consumer resistance to price rises.

(4) Over-capacity in all industrial lines (save steel).

These find expression variously: in complaints from pinched small businessmen, in lines of out-of-work airplane engineers, in mutterings of the housewives at the grocery stores, etc.

But they all add up to the threat of an imminent recession. So little is this mentioned in print that economic experts in the Nation's Capital single out as unique a frank editorial in the *Journal of Commerce* on June 25, which said: "A moderate recession brought on by a determined restrictive credit policy now is considered a small price to pay for avoiding a major boom and bust caused by inflation fears."

Both the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government — it seems apparent — have developed a wholesome concern about the danger.

What can be done? All observers agree on the following answer: If the Labor Bosses and the mass of wage-earners come to realize the fatal consequences of the wage spiral, a painful national recession can be averted.

Trial Balloon: The press announcement that Dr. Milton Eisenhower plans a series of TV "addresses" to tell the American people about affairs in Mexico (he has just returned from a trip to that country) has stirred political talk in the Capital.

While Mexico is not precisely a politically incandescent topic in the U.S., some observers believe that this TV series is designed as a starter for a political build-up of Milton (if these speeches draw praise as "statesmanlike") — with 1960 in view.

It is recalled that the President's brother did not exactly strain himself to squelch efforts of friends who put forward his name as a candidate for President in the last election. Those efforts took place in October and November, 1955, at a time when Ike's recovery from his coronary seemed to make uncertain his candidature for re-election.

One "liberal" newspaper cited as a qualification the fact that Dr. Milton had been "a long-time New Dealer under Henry Wallace." Quite possibly — it is suggested — the "Modern Republicans" would like to get in first with their favorite to succeed Ike.

Foreign Aid: The defeat of the President's foreign aid appropriation bill by the House, on August 15, rates among observers as far more than an expression of resentment because Ike threatened Congress that he would call it back into special session later.

The Congressional revolt, especially in the House, signifies the continuing, firm pressure from the mass of the people for cutting the budget, particularly the foreign aid portion.

This pressure for economy is less vocal in terms of mail to Congress than a few months ago, but it still comes in. In contrast, many Northern members point to the fact that they have received *not one* letter on "civil rights."

Voting tallies confirm this conclusion. Four weeks ago, the House passed its version of the Foreign Aid Authorization bill. The final vote was 254 "for" — 154 "against." Early this week, final vote on the revised Authorization measure ran as follows: 226 "for"—163 "against." Thus, those in favor diminished by 28; those actively opposed increased by 9. In short, members, in the intervening period, "had heard from home" — as the saying goes.

Furthermore, when they voted, they obviously listened to "home," not to the extraordinary pressure for

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. • Copyright 1957 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spending — the threats and cajolings of the White House Palace Guard. This picture impresses observers as a sign that the mass movement in the country demanding cuts in Federal spending is irresistable, and cannot be permanently damped down, no matter how often the President appeals to the contrary.

As it stands, the present estimate is that the total cut in Ike's $71.8 billion budget request for fiscal '58 will be closer to $5 billion than the $3.3 billion which served as a target of the more hopeful economizers in Congress early in the session.

Finally, the judgment of most members of Congress is that Ike will make a big mistake if he calls a special session. This verdict arises largely from a piece of experience, not widely reported in the press today. Congressional memories recall these facts:

In 1948, President Truman, as a part of election year grand-standing, called Congress back "to deal with inflation." Congress returned the end of July that year and the President asked for price-wage controls, excess profits taxes and other drastic measures (not to mention "civil rights" legislation). Congress passed none of these. About all it accomplished was to okay a small appropriation request for the UN.

But most of the 13-day session was marked by a barrage of derogatory remarks about "Harry." It should stand as a warning to Ike — so goes the word on Capitol Hill.

War of the Rebellion: In the past 48 hours, a revolt against the revolters threatens to fission the Democratic party.

Last week, HUMAN EVENTS — against the background of what was regarded as success of the Southern members of the Senate against the GOP Civil Rights bill — reported that these had won the battle but were losing the war. Although they knocked out Section III and got a sort of jury-trial amendment, the outcome left likely drastic changes in voting in the South and basic Federal control on this matter. States rights will gradually take a licking.

This week, one angry Southern Democratic Representative told HUMAN EVENTS that "in case the Senate Civil Rights bill is passed, we will have lost not only the war, but the battle as well." This States Righter wants none of it, hopes for its failure to pass at all in any form and damns his Democratic Leaders Johnson and Rayburn for "doublecrossing" the South. This legislator is not alone.

Among the revolting Southerners, probably most of them are at the same time in rebellion against their own leadership (probably more so in the House than the Senate). They talk earnestly in corners of the cloakrooms of an eventual Third Party — having in mind doubtless the States Rights ticket of 1948, which won 39 electoral votes. Indeed, the Presidential standard bearer of this 1948 Southern party, now Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, early this week on a TV quiz indicated that, if the Democrats in 1960 nominated a "liberal" like Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan and the GOP offered Nixon, there well might be a revival of this "Third Party."

What fuels these sparks are the "back benchers" from the Southern wing of the Democratic party, who — as the phrase goes — "get nothing out of being a Congressman," but get hurt when the discredited electorate blames them with the rest of Congress. The backbenchers haven't sufficient seniority to get the Chairmanship of a Committee — the big prize of a legislator's dreams. Nor can they, when the GOP holds the White House, obtain any favors for a clamoring constituent. "There's no lower form of political life" — is one description. In short, they have nothing to lose but their obscurity by supporting a Third Party.

Cuban Revolt: Many on the Hill are beginning to say now: "We ought to be worrying more about the Communist menace in Latin America, on our very doorstep, than about communism in the faraway Middle East." What's really behind the revolt led by Fidel Castro against the Cuban Government, billed by the *New York Times* and the liberal press as a simple rebellion against dictatorship, comes into clearer focus from the following statement, obtained exclusively by the staff of HUMAN EVENTS from former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Spruille Braden. This retired American diplomat has long qualified as an expert not only on Cuba but also on all Latin America; having served in other posts south of the border, he has in recent years won recognition as a critical observer of the workings of the Communist apparatus in the Caribbean and South America.

Mr. Braden says of Fidel Castro, leader of the fledgling Cuban revolt, that, according to official documents he has seen, "He is a fellow-traveller, if not a member of the Communist Party and has been so for a long time. He was a ring-leader in the bloody uprising in Bogota, Colombia in April, 1948, which occurred (and obviously was planned by the Kremlin) just at the time when the Pan-American Conference was being held in that capital, with no less a person than Secretary of State George C. Marshall present. The uprising was engineered and staged by Communists, and the Colombian Government and Colombia press subsequently published documentary evidence of Fidel Castro's role as a leader in the rioting which virtually gutted the Colombian capital. The appearance of this Cuban at the head of the recent uprising in his own country stamps the insurrection as another part of the developing Communist pattern of such subversion throughout Latin America — although a number of thoroughly decent and patriotic Cubans have been misled into sympathizing with, and in some cases supporting, the Fidel Castro movement."

Fat Cats In Spats: The Gluck affair — with charges of "selling ambassadorships" — continues to make Capital conversation hum. Investigation by the HUMAN EVENTS staff produces the following additional information, not so far brought out:

Gluck actually contributed $43,000 to last year's campaigns — over one-third more than the $30,000 quoted in most newspaper reports.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The apparel merchant poured the additional $13,000 into the following GOP campaign coffers:

Senators John Cooper and Thruston Morton of Kentucky received $2000 and $500, respectively; Representatives Wolverton (N.J.), Latham (N.Y.), and Cramer (Fla.) each received $500; Rep. Dorn (N.Y.) was given $1000; the "Independent Democrats for Ike" received $3000; and $5000 was given to President Eisenhower's campaign for re-election.

Meanwhile, foreign affairs experts see far-reaching implications in *L'affaire Gluck* affecting our success in the "cold war." The whole controversy points up the dangerous situation existing today. Should our foreign affairs be handled by experienced Foreign Service officers or by "innocent amateurs" such as Gluck? Observers point out that the cold war today is being carried out on two equally important fronts — a military level and a diplomatic one. The leaders of one front — the military — possess professional experience and ability to qualify for their job. But many of those of the other — the diplomatic — obtain their appointments by virtual purchase and have neither background nor experience in the field.

The recently-published and timely book, *The Red Fort* by James Leason (Reynal & Co. $4.50), describes a condition existing in British military affairs in the 19th century, which suggests a parallel with the situation today. Custom in the military service in Britain then, as in our Foreign Service today, made it possible for many civilian officers to purchase officers' commissions for sums which ran into thousands of pounds, although they lacked the necessary background and experience. They wanted the titles for social eligibility. The situation played a part in British military troubles in the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Today, twenty-four of the seventy-six present U.S. Ambassadors fall into the "amateur" category.

Upcoming Wisconsin Contest: The election of former Governor Walter J. Kohler to the Senate seat left vacant in Wisconsin by the death of Senator McCarthy remains in serious question — according to observers recently returned from that state. While Kohler won the primary, his victory was a slim one, less than 10,000 votes over the next strongest contender, former Rep. Glenn Davis; and all the GOP primary candidates combined received almost twice as many votes as did Kohler. His popularity has been fading in recent years and is not strong in the GOP state organization, which may fail to put much enthusiasm into their pledged support of him. Kohler is a "liberal" Republican, the organization is conservative.

Also, he faces Democrat William Proxmire, who ran him a close race for Governor three years ago. Proxmire will enjoy the backing of organized labor in Milwaukee and other industrial areas.

But the biggest threat to Kohler's success lies in one Howard Boyle, a Milwaukee attorney, who has filed as an independent candidate to run in the forthcoming by-election. Boyle ran as candidate for GOP nomination for Senator almost a year ago and drew 20,000 votes. He was a strong supporter of Senator McCarthy and his following was regarded as "McCarthyite." If he had not run — it was remarked — his voters would have undoubtedly supported and insured victory for former Rep. Glenn Davis, who lost by only about 10,000 votes to Senator Wiley. Boyle's following presumably will deduct a sizeable number of votes from the Kohler column. If he does as well in the coming by-election as he did in last year's primary, he might well help bring about the election of Democrat Proxmire.

Some Wisconsin GOP conservatives indicate that they will be philosophical about such a Democratic victory, as Proxmire would only serve for a year. They believe — and many agree with them — that next year conservative Wisconsin Republicans, if they unite on a candidate, will be able to defeat Proxmire (if he runs for re-election) or any other Democrat.

Union Organization: As vociferously as they demand the untrammeled right to bring all American workers into their membership, by force if necessary, it becomes apparent that labor unions take a diametrically opposite view toward having their own employees organized and represented by another union.

Last winter, there was much amusement over judicial findings that the Teamsters Union had violated the Taft-Hartley law by its efforts to discourage workers at its Seattle headquarters from joining an office workers union.

This week, it's no less than the AFL-CIO itself. Its president, George Meany, went to great lengths to explain why its Executive Council had rejected an application for a charter for a new union to represent AFL-CIO national organizers. Observers agree his explanation was repetitive of almost any employer trying to avert unionization of his employees.

Meany gave three specific reasons why the Executive Council decided against issuing a charter to, or recognizing for collective bargaining position, the new union. He said the AFL-CIO's 225 international organizers are "management," rather than labor; he doubted that the new union truly represented a majority of the organizers; and since such organizers all were originally hired by affiliate unions rather than the AFL-CIO itself, it would constitute "dual unionism" — one of the most grievous of sins, to union bosses.

Real reason for the desire of the organizers to organize themselves is a fear that several of their own number may be fired in the near future in an anticipated economy campaign.

Education Front: Jubilance on the part of conservative members of Congress over the defeat of the Federal aid to education bill by a House vote of 208 to 205 was replaced this week by a feeling of concern. It now appears the battle was won but the war is only beginning. A new rash of Federal aid to education proposals developed in the wake of the original bill's death. Conservatives point to the following as causes for concern:

- The National Education Association's centennial convention held recently in Philadelphia became a sounding board for Federal aid proponents. James E.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Russell, Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission of the NEA, hinted of the future establishment by the Federal government of "its own school system in competition with existing schools." In a speech before the convention he cited the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's as precedents. He implied a Federal school system is a likely alternative if the NEA-sponsored program of permanent Federal aid to education was not adopted by Congress.

● The President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School submitted its final report this week, a document strongly favoring Federal aid to education. The Committee proposed a "work-study" program similar to the National Youth Administration. Under this plan the Federal government would subsidize work projects for college students.

● Senator Clifford Case (R.-N.J.) introduced a bill into Congress this week to authorize a $2.5 million Federal program to help the states develop plans for expanding their college facilities. The money would be distributed to the states on a matching basis, the final amount being apportioned on the basis of school-age population.

McCarthy: Thirty-one members of the Senate (23 Republicans, 8 Democrats) on August 15 paid tribute to the memory of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. One of the finest utterances came from Sen. Andrew Schoeppel (R.-Kan.) who said:

"Mr. President, today the Senate of the United States has seen fit to lay aside its legislative duties and to pay tribute to the memory of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin.

"There have been many things said about Joe. Running through all the comments made in his time, is the inference that Senator McCarthy was a 'controversial' man. It has been said that this is perhaps the most ingenious approach which his enemies used to destroy him.

"Mr. President, if honesty is 'controversial,' then in truth, Joe was controversial, because he told the truth as he saw it.

"If love of country is 'controversial,' again the Senator from Wisconsin was guilty, because he dearly loved America and he was willing to pay any price on its behalf.

"If love of God and implacable, uncompromising opposition to atheistic international Communism is 'controversial,' then again the late Senator from Wisconsin erred.

"If indomitable courage in the face of overwhelming odds is 'controversial,' the Senator from Wisconsin deserves the title.

"If a determination to expose and to remove from public offices of trust persons disloyal to the United States is 'controversial,' this too, must be added to the mistakes of Joe McCarthy.

"Yet, as we meet today in the Senate of the United States, perhaps it is more fitting that we re-examine the things for which Joe McCarthy fought and died, and decide whether on these basic issues there is any ground for compromise, appeasement, equivocation or even tolerance. Perhaps on this occasion it would be desirable for many Americans to decide to become 'controversial' for the sake of our country.

"The future will record the struggle against evil which Senator McCarthy so gallantly fought.

"Will it be so kind with us?

"Consider the Scriptures: 'A righteous man, though he die before his time, shall be at rest. For honorable old age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor is its measure given by number of years: but understanding is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is ripe old age. Being made perfect in a little while he fulfilled long years: for his soul was pleasing unto the Lord.' — Wisdom IV (Apocrypha)."

PASTORS APPLAUD HUMAN EVENTS

CHARLES H. BRADY, Rector, Trinity Episcopal Church, Orange, California: "I enjoy HUMAN EVENTS very much and find it well balanced and most instructive on matters of national interest."

E. J. ERLANDSON, Minister, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Walnut Creek, California: "Americans are better informed because of the fine type of publicizing you're doing, a type always needed in our country. When we are right, we need guidance in thinking so as to remain in the right — and when we are on a wrong tack, we need to be told of that in ways and words that become so significant that we shall willingly mend our ways."

LOUIS M. BRANNING, Pastor, Ebenezer Reformed Church, Oregon, Illinois: "HUMAN EVENTS provides a fine analysis of present trends and events, something which is a tremendous help to the layman. It provides the reader with much supplementary material unavailable in other publications."

HOLLIS W. COLWELL, Chaplain, Veterans Administration, Los Angeles, California: "I find HUMAN EVENTS very illuminating and appreciate its separate sheet recording of the Washington political happenings and other clear, concise digests of American concerns. It makes for easy filing and reference. I do not feel it has an equal in the analysis of national affairs."

VIRGIL C. HAIR, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Midway, Ohio: "I am glad to receive the bulletin HUMAN EVENTS. It gives me a short-cruise word picture of events that are apt to be distorted in the newspapers. Thank you: keep up the good work."

JAMES W. GUSTAFSON, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California: "After having received HUMAN EVENTS for several years in college, and now again in graduate school, I am glad to be able to give my views. Its content is unduplicated in anything else we read. There are slants, insights, behind-the-scenes activities which HUMAN EVENTS reports that give a clearer, more intimate knowledge of developments in Washington."

ELMER L. SMART, Pastor, Baptist Church, Chandleville, Illinois: "HUMAN EVENTS is the most sensible, down-to-earth reading matter that comes my way. The news-behind-the-news is invaluable. The reasoning is reasoning and not name-calling. It stimulates thinking. I like it."

S. E. STEVENSON, Pastor, First Southern Baptist Church, Kim, Colorado: "HUMAN EVENTS is a fine summary of what takes place in our nation's capital. It gives in brief form the principal events and thinking of our leaders. I enjoy reading it."

CORNELIUS C. McNARY, Pastor, United Presbyterian Church, Morning Sun, Ohio: "I enjoy reading HUMAN EVENTS because I learn so much about the government and economic trends which I can not get elsewhere. You do not hesitate to let the axe fall where it should. Keep up the good work."

J. A. RINGENBERG, Pastor, Brooklyn Missionary Church, Cleveland, Ohio: "HUMAN EVENTS is a real boon as a time saver in keeping up with world and national events of utmost importance to those who are leaders in shaping public opinion. I read it through immediately upon its arrival."

KENNETH HULIT, Minister, First Evangelical United Brethren Church, Canton, Ohio: "I have found HUMAN EVENTS a very interesting paper, especially since it gives such a consistently conservative point of view. This is so different from the usual material that reaches my desk that I find myself reading your paper regularly."

W. FAY BUTTER, Minister, Highland Park Methodist Church, Los Angeles, California: "I find HUMAN EVENTS very helpful in understanding rational trends. I read it every week."

J. PAUL GRAHAM, Minister, First Presbyterian Church, Canton, Ohio: "HUMAN EVENTS has been coming to my desk for several months. I like the frank way in which matters pertinent to all American citizens are considered. The various articles stimulate to wider reading and to deeper study. One does not always agree with the writers but they are fair and candid."

A. L. REID, Minister, Zion Evangelical United Brethren Church, West Salem, Ohio: "I read HUMAN EVENTS before I read any other newspaper or magazine that comes to my office and then I pass it on to some member of my church. I think that it is great."

LONZO S. GREEN, Pastor, Mount Vernon, Ohio: "The happenings reported in HUMAN EVENTS often make me angry, but at the same time it makes me glad to know that I am an American and can have such a frank publication coming to my desk each week. I cannot afford to lay it aside without reading it from beginning to end."

RALPH W. FITCH, Minister, Methodist Church, Waverly, Illinois: "The news in HUMAN EVENTS impresses me as dependable, fair and courageous; certainly up-to-date! I have quoted excerpts in my conversations with members of my church, always giving credit to this worthy source."

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION to HUMAN EVENTS for new subscribers only: 5 weeks $1.
Yearly rate, $10; 6 months, $6; 3 months, $3.
By first class mail, $12 a year; by airmail (including APO and FPO) $14 a year. FOREIGN: by regular mail, $13 a year; airmail, $18.
Allow us 2 weeks to process new subscriptions and changes of address.
Bound Annual Volume with complete index $15. Only 1955 and 1956 Volumes are available.
The Declaration of Independence opens: "When in the course of HUMAN EVENTS . . ."

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor and Publisher*
JAMES L. WICK, *Executive Publisher*
Contributing Editors: FRANK CHODOROV, M. STANTON EVANS

HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is a weekly newsletter reporting from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. Published usually in two sections: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article section. Entered as second class matter at Washington, D. C.

Copyright 1957.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume XIV, No. 33 HUMAN EVENTS August 17, 1957

Article Section II

THE LIBRARY
WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

THOSE PARK AVENUE "LIBERALS"

By ALICE FURLAUD

MANY PEOPLE would call me a political illiterate. At Radcliffe, from which I graduated six years ago, I majored in English and have worried my head little about politics since. But, after listening to the talk of people my own and my husband's age about what goes on in the world and the USA, I have begun to wonder whether our New York, Washington and Boston friends in their late 20's and early 30's think at all — despite the lofty vocabulary with which they surround some rather stereotyped ideas.

I don't know what political discussions in earlier generations were like, but nearly all the young people I meet, most of them well-educated, intelligent and original in other fields, lapse into the most mediocre herd-thinking the minute politics is mentioned. When our age group is accused of "conformity" in magazine articles these days, the writer always seems to mean that there is a trend toward conservatism, security-seeking and the good old Victorian way of life. I agree that our generation does tend to conform, but that in conforming they are docilely accepting political attitudes that are neither conservative nor conducive to security.

At any rate, the Eastern seaboard youth of my limited acquaintance seems, from a solid background of wealth, prep schools and the Ivy League, to speak in one sheep-like voice. At large dinners and cocktail parties in New York now, even if one doesn't know a soul present, one can pipe up safely with the assumption that everyone thinks Nixon darkly suspicious, thinks Eisenhower the only possible Republican and a rather disappointing one at that, deplores (without defining) "McCarthyism," and accepts the rehabilitation program by the universities of such people as Hiss and Oppenheimer as an effort to "get the best talent available regardless of political background." But try coming to the defense of the FBI at one of these parties! I am not speaking of my own circle of friends alone, but of hundreds of young people I have met at parties and in casual ways wherever. Their political reactions are as predictable as their sport coats.

FROM MY OBSERVATION, the prime factor in the political thinking of a young Eastern self-styled "liberal" of today — that is, an honest one, not the type that uses the title to cover up suspicious loyalties — is the humanitarian motive. He wants all men to be free from oppression and physical want, as did his ideological predecessors in the 1920's and 1930's. He believes that freedom from want reached an unbeatable high during the New Deal. To release people from want and fear, all men have to undergo some loss of freedom, he feels. He believes that Government will not get out of hand, no matter how large it gets, as long as the majority of the people want it to be large.

And yet, loving humanity as he does, the "liberal" Ivy Leaguer puts little trust in the individuals that make up the mass of humanity. He believes that the "rabble" that can be roused by unscrupulous reactionaries is numerous and dangerous. The bulk of Americans, to the young "liberal," are an unintelligent and intolerant mass who hear the word "guilt" in the air and brand the innocent with it. They must be firmly governed by benevolent intellectuals who alone have a sound moral sense.

The young East-Coast "liberal" has learned very little from world events which occurred during the New Deal. He does not shut his eyes to the causes and effects of things that happened between 1933 and 1945; he examines them, he believes, dispassionately. He can find very little in the events of the closing months of the war that was not either all to the good or inevitable.

The young "liberal" is very sensitive to the word "Communist." It produces an instantaneous defensive reaction. This is partly explained by his knowledge that many of his ideological forebears, also trying their best to help humanity, were Communists, or thought they were. Although he has been shown that to be a Communist is to practice wrong principles, and though he believes much (but not all) of what he reads about injustices in Soviet Russia, he can not help coming to the defense of individual Communists who have been exposed — regardless of how little he knows about their activities.

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. • Copyright 1957 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He is defensive, as were his favorite authors in college, about his natural humanitarian feelings. He is constantly fighting battles — and they are often old battles, partially won — against Big Business (which he believes to be a menace), corruption in Government, racial discrimination. He apparently craves to be in the minority in fighting these battles, as his "liberal" fathers and uncles were. And yet their battles are not really his battles, and the new power of such once oppressed groups as labor unions has somehow escaped him.

The "liberals" of the 20's and 30's were deeply shaken by the horrible excesses of Hitler's Nazis in Germany. The bestiality of Nazism blinded them to every other injustice. Some, like Virginia Woolf in England, were driven to deep and terrified despair by the rise of this despotism in an enlightened world. Many threw themselves bravely into the Spanish Civil War to fight the one manifestation of fascism they could actively oppose. Their concern was sincere and just.

BUT THE YOUNG "liberals" of today do not feel any similar revulsion and terror at the moral state of mankind, and the subjugation of the Russian and East European people by the Communists. They feel no real despair over the fact that, while they themselves were fighting a tremendous war against tyranny, a new and more menacing tyranny has risen to take its place. Even the Hungarian Revolution, with its first-hand accounts, movies, and refugees in our own country, did not stir them as the older generation was stirred by the revolution in Spain.

But the plight of a Government worker, discharged for security reasons, really arouses them. So does the exclusion of colored children from white schools. These "outrages" often loom as large — or larger — in the minds of the young "liberals" as the mowing down of helpless people in Budapest by Soviet machine guns. And judging by the heat of their discussions, the rough questioning of a suspected Communist is regarded as an even greater outrage.

Here the definition ends and the comment begins. My "liberal" friends are right to get mad about these things. A company grown too large can still endanger liberties. There is grave injustice when an innocent man suddenly loses his job with no way of fighting the charges against him; there is cruelty when Negro children are stoned on the way to school; it is shocking when a Congressman fights his way to office by dishonest means. Yet these are wrongs which have been with us in varying degrees for some time and which are being combatted as effectively as fair-minded people can combat them.

An American businessman has a hard time "grinding the faces of the poor" in these unionized days. Racial discrimination was disappearing, slowly but very surely, long before the Supreme Court stepped in. And never have we as a nation been so intently on the lookout for corruption. We are so eager to defend the rights of the falsely accused security risk that we often give some dubious people the benefit of the doubt. Why is it our first assumption that the accusation — as long as it concerns communism — must be false?

But the Communist tyranny is something new, unlike corruption and race conflict. Its hold over nations has been achieved relatively suddenly. Nothing like the threat of Soviet communism has appeared in our time. And one reason why it is so serious a threat is that the young American "liberal" does not understand it. His intelligence and energies are still devoted to attacking anti-Communists. In the name of freedom he defends subversives and Soviet agents whose mission is, plainly and clearly, to destroy freedom.

In this sense the young people I am talking about are certainly drifting into dangerous conformity. What they need is to get their brains and their humanitarian impulses working together.

Alice Furlaud is the wife of a film writer and director and has been travelling extensively since her graduation from Radcliffe College six years ago.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. $10 per year.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, new subscribers only: 5 weeks for $1.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Send me.....reprints of "THOSE PARK AVENUE LIBERALS" at $..... ☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Additional copies of this 2-page Article: single copy 15¢ (coins not stamps); 15 copies $1; 35 copies $2; 125 copies $5; 300 copies $10; 1,000 copies $20. In 5,000 lots $15 per thousand. Unless otherwise ordered, reprints are sent by fourth-class mail, which takes ten days to two weeks for delivery. For first-class mail delivery of 2-page articles, add ½¢ per copy; for airmail, add 1¢ per copy.

Prices of 4-page articles or news sections are as follows: single copy 20¢ (coins, not stamps); 10 copies $1; 25 copies $2; 100 copies $5; 500 copies $20; 1,000 copies $30. In 5,000 lots $25 per thousand.

Enter my subscription ☐ 5 weeks for $1 ☐ 1 year for $10

Name.....

Street.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume XIV, No. 33 HUMAN EVENTS August 17, 1957

Article Section I

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

A Republican Looks At What's Left of His Party

THE LIBRARY
WISCONSIN STATE COLLEGE
RIVER FALLS, WISCONSIN

By PAUL JONES

"YOU PEOPLE who complain about the present position of the Republican party," said the Devil's Advocate, "seem rather querulous. Do you find it so unusual that the White House claims the right to chart the course and issue sailing directions?"

"By no means," I said. "To adopt your maritime metaphor, it is merely that the crew signed on for a particular voyage and finds itself embarked on a very different one. I contend only that a large, well-found liner, heavily patronized, need not behave like a rusty tramp, putting into all sorts of odd harbors in search of pickup cargoes of perishable votes.

"For Republicans of more than 20 years seniority, the lack of sensible policy is frustrating. And notice how exclusive the Palace Guard is. Any party member is promptly marooned, if he objects to going on a round-the-world ill will cruise, after booking passage, let's say, from San Francisco for East Coast ports, via the Panama Canal."

"Discipline must be maintained in any party."

"What discipline? Where was that stern rule when Harold Stassen made himself and the party ridiculous by his effort to ditch the Vice President? Childe Harold launched his one-man mutiny from the quarter deck of the White House. He then got a month's leave of absence to rouse malcontents and pass out ammunition in the forecastle. After the collapse of his weird venture, he rushed back into Officers' Country, signed the payroll, and was at once shriven and assoiled of his political sins."

"I cannot undertake," said the Devil's Advocate, "to defend *l'Affaire Stassen.*"

"It is a symbol of what's wrong," I said. "Having brilliantly demonstrated his lack of judgment, Mr. Stassen was assigned to negotiate a disarmament agreement with the Soviets. We are told that this is a critical and delicate mission. If I may shift metaphors from the sea to the diamond, Stassen booted the first hard-hit ball that came his way, and had to be provided with a backer-up, lest worse befall the *res publica.*"

"Every party is afflicted with such people," said the D.A. smoothingly. "The Man Who Has To Be Taken Care Of is an old political itch, mentioned by both Dickens and Disraeli at the very dawning of modern popular government, and recurrent ever since."

"True," I said. "But, among us Old Contemptibles, it is customary to give such characters a uniform and let them shag flies during batting practice in some remote part of left field, where they belong. The Modern Republicans send them in to pinch-hit with the bases loaded. The bench is crowded with sluggers, who have been slamming home runs off Democratic dipsy-doodles for years. But that very fact disqualifies them."

"Surely," said the Devil's Advocate, "it is not unheard of that the losing faction in a party fight should be on the outside, looking in. Please be specific on points of policy. What is your chief complaint?"

"MY COMPLAINT is that there is no policy that can properly be called Republican in the present Administration. What we have is the Me-Tooism of Dewey, who lost in 1944 and 1948, draped around the shoulders of a popular vote-getter.

"Fundamentally, the minimum requirement for a political credo is that it make sense at all levels. Modern Republicanism, so-called, does not meet that simple test, either in national affairs or in party matters. People are not stupid. They may prefer an Eisenhower to a Stevenson as President. But the results of the Congressional elections of 1952, 1954 and 1956 show clearly that the great attempt to remold the Republican Party is a flat failure.

"Mr. Eisenhower came in with the 83rd Congress. The party showed a gain of 1 seat in the Senate and 12 in the House. Contrast this with 1948, when Truman and the Democrats gained 9 seats in the Senate and 75 in the House.

"After four years of Modern Republicanism, we are exactly where we were in the Senate in 1952, with 47 members, and almost exactly the same in the House, with 201 as against 199 at that time. Where is the tide of popular support? Where are the wonders promised us by the Modern Republicans?

"Take another comparison. Consider the Congressional elections of 1946, between the two Dewey campaigns. That year, for the 80th Congress, the Republicans, with the Old Contemptibles running free, gained 13 seats in the Senate and 56 seats in the House. You see nothing like that springing from Modern Republicanism."

"Remolding a party takes time."

"Three Congressional elections ought to be enough to show a trend. Let me take you back 50 years, to the salutary shakeup given the G.O.P. by another popular favorite, Theodore Roosevelt. Between 1903 and 1907, the three elections over which he presided showed a net gain of 5 seats in the Senate and 24 seats in the House. His process of remolding actually increased the comfortable majorities he inherited from McKinley. Furthermore, he could pass them on to W. H. Taft virtually unchanged, with the loss of two in the Senate and three in the House, all easily spared."

"The Democrats under Franklin Roosevelt—," interjected the D.A.

"Let us stick to Republican party history. That is one trouble with the Modern Republicans. They are still terrified by the image of a man who died 12 years ago.

"Meanwhile, look at what has happened elsewhere under their control, the State Houses lost, the State

Published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. • Copyright 1957 by HUMAN EVENTS, INC.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organizations disrupted, the general confusion in party ranks caused by their nonsensical effort to substitute the President's personal popularity for a political program.

"In 1954, in my own State, Pennsylvania, there was a contest for the Governorship, as well as the usual Congressional elections. The Citizens For Eisenhower opened a large headquarters on Chestnut Street in downtown Philadelphia, with bunting, loud speakers and devoted volunteers.

"The entire theme of their drive was: Elect A Congress To Support Eisenhower. There were photographs of the six Republican candidates for the House. But I saw no mention of the State ticket and nothing to identify the Republican candidate for Governor, Lloyd Wood.

"One block down Chestnut Street, the Democrats, who have a way of keeping their eye on the ball, set up a similar center for noonday and evening rallies. This was called the Headquarters of the Volunteers For Leader, their candidate for Governor. I need not remind you that George Leader took his party into the governorship of Pennsylvania for the first time in 20 years. His victory gave them 20 or 30,000 State jobs and set the stage for the defeat of Senator Duff by Joe Clark in 1956.

"The margin was narrow, and the seat in the Senate could have been saved in 1956, if the proper work had been done in 1954. Mr. Eisenhower came into the State twice to support his friend Jim Duff, but it was too late. The Citizens For Eisenhower, by ignoring the State ticket in the previous election, may have thought they were reforming the party. All they were doing was digging their own grave.

"The Modern Republicans are unable to grasp the continuing nature of politics, the necessary and inescapable connection between State and local campaigns this year and national campaigns next year. They behave as though a party had no function except to elect a President. As politicians, they are on a par with the smart crowds that go to the World Series, but attend no other games.

"Incidentally, the effort of the Citizens For Eisenhower to elect Congressmen in his interest from Philadelphia was a dismal failure. All the Democratic incumbents were re-elected, by the handsome majorities customary since 1948, and Hugh Scott squeaked in for the Republicans, also as usual. The whole project made no sense, even for the short haul."

"I have heard similar beefs in many places," said the Devil's Advocate. "Perhaps it is due merely to the honest enthusiasm of untried amateurs."

"Come, come. The Palace Guard consists almost entirely of veteran pros, people who played in the minors for years. Perhaps that's what's wrong. They may be congenital bushers, accustomed only to the rude operations of State politics, where a losing faction gets its teeth kicked in for good.

"After they won the nomination in 1952, by the perilous method of stamping Mr. Republican himself as little better than a burglar ('Thou Shalt Not Steal,' God help us!), they found they had to ask Mr. Taft's help in the campaign. But, as soon as the election was over, they attempted again to belittle him by Cabinet appointments that were plainly designed to show him up as a man without influence or standing in the party. The grotesque choice of Mr. Durkin, a Taft-Hartley opponent, as Secretary of Labor in a Republican administration, could have originated only in a parochial view of national politics.

"So, too, the malevolence displayed toward Senator McCarthy in the Army hearings was short-sighted in the extreme. Of course, it won the warm approval of the "liberal" columnists, which may have balanced in their minds, but not mine, the loss of the State House at Albany in the New York elections."

"What do you propose to do about it?" the D.A. asked. "I assume you are thinking already of a third party movement."

"Not at all. The Republicans need only regain control of their own party. Let the Modern Republicans do the worrying about their future home. There are no more Eisenhowers on their horizon. On the other hand, we see potential heirs of Senator Robert A. Taft in at least the following: Senator John W. Bricker, former Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey and Senator William F. Knowland. And there are some State Governors who may qualify.

"The fact is, we have far better potential leaders than exist in the camp of the Modern Republicans, a tag that means nothing, except as the latest effort to make a policy out of Mr. Eisenhower's engaging personality.

"But the genuine and enlightened Conservatives, who have some idea what conservatism means, can repeat in this country the sweeping triumphs of the conservative spirit registered all over the world, and most recently in our neighbor, Canada, which recently in the general election threw out the Liberals and put in the Conservatives. It will take hard, concentrated work to recapture the Republican party for its authentic tradition, but it must be done. The short-sightedness of the Ikemen need not infect our ranks."

"It is not too soon now to begin thinking about 1960."

Paul Jones has been an editorial writer for the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* for the past dozen years. He has contributed often to HUMAN EVENTS, his last article being "Dr. Do-Good's Wonder Remedies: The Problem of U.S. Taxation and Spending," on September 1, 1956.

HUMAN EVENTS was founded in 1944 by Frank C. Hanighen. It is published weekly at 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. and reports from Washington on politics, business, labor and taxes. It is usually published in two parts: a 4-page news section and a 4-page article. $10 per year.

TRIAL SUBSCRIPTIONS, new subscribers only: 5 weeks for $1.

ORDER BLANK

HUMAN EVENTS, 1835 K Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Send me.....reprints of "WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE" at $..... ☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

Additional copies of this 2-page Article: single copy 15¢ (coins not stamps); 15 copies $1; 35 copies $2; 125 copies $5; 300 copies $10; 1,000 copies $20. In 5,000 lots $15 per thousand. Unless otherwise ordered, reprints are sent by fourth-class mail, which takes ten days to two weeks for delivery. For first-class mail delivery of 2-page articles, add ½¢ per copy; for airmail, add 1¢ per copy.

Prices of 4-page articles or news sections are as follows: single copy 20¢ (coins, not stamps); 10 copies $1; 25 copies $2; 100 copies $5; 500 copies $20; 1,000 copies $30. In 5,000 lots $25 per thousand.

Enter my subscription ☐ 5 weeks for $1 ☐ 1 year for $10

Name.....

Street.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED